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I. Introduction

Until quite recently, Hellenists did not take serious interest in the history, archaeology and culture of late-archaic and classical Arkadia: these subjects were left to specialists and considered to be on the periphery of the study of ancient Greece proper. Traditionally, when scholars, sometimes even specialists, did remark upon matters Arkadian, the region was conceived of as poor and as culturally backward and, in particular, it was typically taken for granted that in terms of political organisation Arkadia was a backwater where *poleis* developed only late, whereas “tribalism” persisted deep into the classical period.¹ Recent research, however, has demonstrated that such views are exaggerated. Though conditions in mountainous Arkadia were less favourable than in certain other regions of Greece, J. ROY has demonstrated that the region was not inherently poor² and emphasized that it was capable of constructing and financing a remarkable series of late-archaic and early-classical temples in a distinctive regional style.³ Moreover, I myself argued in 2002 that the *polis* was from at least the later sixth century the standard form of political organisation in Arkadia, even in areas traditionally described as “tribal” such as Mainalia and Parrhasia.⁴ Finally, even though communications were more difficult than in more lower-lying and less mountainous regions, Y. PIKOULAS has demonstrated that Arkadian communities were interconnected by a fine web of roads and that the region as such was connected to the road-networks of neighbouring regions.⁵ In these respects, then, Arkadia was in fact more like than un-like other Greek regions. In this article, I shall survey the involvement by Arkadian individuals and communities in one of the most distinctive and characteristic arenas of Greek cultural life: the athletic *agon*, and suggest that in this respect, too, Arkadia was more like than un-like other Greek regions.

II. Athletic festivals attested in late-archaic and classical Arkadia

Athletic competitions were arguably among the most important phenomena of late-archaic and classical Greek civilization at all. This importance stems both from the fiercely agonistic character of key areas of Greek culture and from the fact that, from the sixth century and

¹ See e.g. Parke 1933, 14; Richter 1939, 198; Callmer 1943, 26. 48f.; Pearson 1962, 402; Roy 1972, 43; Adshead 1980, 21–24; Borgeaud 1988, 3; Davies 1993, 14; Hunt 1998, 197 n. 1; Trundle 2004, 129. See also Roy 2007, 60 and 2011, 67 citing other scholars expressing negative stereotypical views of Arkadia.

² Roy 1999 (the modern view that the region was poor reproduces ancient stereotypes: Roy 2007, 51).

³ Roy 2001, 265 and 268f. (the view that mountainous regions must be uncivilised likewise reproduces an ancient stereotype: Roy 2007, 51). – On these temples, see Winter 1991 and 2005; Forsén et al. 1999; Voyatzis 1999; Østby 2005.

⁴ Nielsen 2002 (see also Nielsen 1996 and 2004). On the Parrhasians, see now also Roy 2013.

⁵ Pikoulas 1999.

onwards, athletic and equestrian competitions were almost invariably incorporated into religious festivals, which were themselves perhaps the most important manifestation of the community of the *polis*.⁶ Prior to the sixth century, aristocratic funerals may not impossibly have been the central venue for agonistic contests, but if so, that role had by the classical period been taken over by the recurrent religious festival which was by then the standard context for agonistic competitions throughout the Greek world.⁷ By the classical period, athletic competitions were such a standard feature of religious festivals that the fourth-century writer Aineas the Tactician takes for granted that festivals included various contests.⁸ The incorporation of athletic competitions into religious festivals, by common consent,⁹ gained momentum in the sixth century, and the importance of this fact can hardly be over-emphasized: It further increased the significance of athletic competitions by enormously increasing the occasions for their celebration. A *polis* which did not celebrate at least a handful of religious festivals every year is hardly to be imagined,¹⁰ and some *poleis* (such as e.g. Thasos and Athens)¹¹ celebrated an amazing number of religious festivals. Not every religious festival, of course, included *agones*, but historians of Greek religion are of the opinion that most in fact did.¹² Not every *agon* incorporated into a festival was an *agon gymnikos*, of course, but historians of Greek religion are of the opinion that most in fact were.¹³ Now, a recent investigation into the number of *poleis* in archaic and classical Greece came to the conclusion that this number ran to 1035.¹⁴ If it is correct that there existed more than a thousand *poleis* in late-archaic and classical Greece, that these *poleis* all celebrated several religious festivals every year, and that most of these festivals included *agones* of which most were *agones gymnikoi*, it follows that the number of occasions on which athletic competitions could potentially have been staged must have run, not impossibly into thousands, but certainly into many hundreds. In simple numerical terms, then, the importance of athletic festivals was huge. The athletic festival, in fact, developed into one the chief characteristics of the Greek *polis*: "The typical Greek city," says CHRISTESEN (2012, 18), "provided training and competition facilities for its citizens and organized athletics contests with valuable prizes." Were the *poleis* of Arkadia typical Greek cities in this respect?

At least six athletic festivals are attested at various sites in late-archaic or classical Arkadia.¹⁵ Though this may perhaps seem a surprising number, it is almost certain to be a *minimum* number, since it must be assumed that an unknown number of athletic festivals were in

⁶ Burkert 1987. – On religious festivals, see ThesCRA VII: Festivals and Contests and the essays collected in Brandt – Iddeng 2012.

⁷ Kyle 2014, 22.

⁸ Ain. Takt. 17, 1. See also Osborne 1993, 25.

⁹ Bell 1989, 168; Pleket 2000, 642; Mann 2001, 19, 27; Young 2004, 23; Christesen 2007a; Christesen 2007b, 143; Christesen 2014, 217; Crowther 2007, 6; Kyle 2009, 188; 2014, 22; Scott 2010, 160f.; Neumann-Hartmann 2014, 31. See also Funke 2005, 11.

¹⁰ See Bremmer 1999, 1: "Every city ... had its own mythology, its own religious calendar and its own festivals." Cf. Scullion 2007, 190.

¹¹ Thasos: Chaniotis 2011, 18; Athens: Parker 2005, 456–484.

¹² See e.g. Chaniotis 2011, 21: "[C]ontests ... were part of the programme of most festivals"; 22: "Not every festival included a contest (ἀγών) in its programme, but most did." Cf. Parker 2011, 174 who refers to "the innumerable athletic and musical competitions associated with or actually constituting festivals."

¹³ Chaniotis 2011, 23: "Most contests were athletic events." Cf. Burkert 1985, 106: "Even more popular [i.e. than *agones mousikoi*], of course, were the sporting contests."

¹⁴ Hansen – Nielsen 2004.

¹⁵ For a brief survey of the epigraphical evidence for athletic festivals in Arkadia (as well as the rest of the Peloponnese), see Lafond 1997.

existence but failed to generate the evidence needed in order to identify them. How easily an athletic festival may remain unknown to us due to a failure to generate evidence may be briefly illustrated by way of two festivals which only just made it into the historical record: (a) The patron divinity of Mantinea, by any standard one of the major *poleis* of Arkadia, was Poseidon Hippios¹⁶ whose trident served as the blazon on the shields of the hoplites of the city.¹⁷ The sanctuary of Poseidon, situated 1.3 km south of the city itself, was equipped with a temple already in the archaic period;¹⁸ and Pausanias (8, 10, 1–2) mentions both a hippodrome and a stadium in the vicinity of his sanctuary. The Mantineans are known to have proclaimed an *ekecheiria* in the fourth century (Xen. hell. 5, 2, 2); our evidence does not explicitly state that the truce was proclaimed for a festival of the patron divinity, but this is a reasonable assumption. A festival, the Ποσειδαία, with athletic competitions is attested by a single Hellenistic inscription,¹⁹ but M. JOST, the preeminent expert on the cults of Arkadia, reasonably assumes that it must have been much older and thus almost certainly in existence in the classical or perhaps even the late-archaic period,²⁰ as other Arkadian athletic festivals certainly were. In other words, it seems reasonable to assume that the Mantineans celebrated an athletic festival in honour of Poseidon already in the classical period and that is by pure coincidence that is attested only by post-classical evidence.²¹

(b) Pausanias (8, 36, 8) mentions remains of a temple of Athena, a stadium and a hippodrome at the city of Mainalos; an athlete from the city won an Olympic victory in ca. 400 BC,²² a nice confirmation of athletic activity in the city. An athletic festival at the city itself, however, is attested solely by an inscription of the mid-fourth century, a victory catalogue from Argos recording the victories of the wrestler Prateas, one of which was achieved at Mainalos;²³ had this inscription not survived, we should have been completely ignorant that an athletic festival was celebrated in the city in the classical period.

What these two examples illustrate is that in addition to the athletic festivals actually attested in classical Arkadia, there must have been a number of festivals which are simply unattested in the surviving evidence. Thus, six athletic festivals in classical Arkadia must be considered a *minimum* number. The six athletic festivals attested by contemporary evidence in late-archaic and classical Arkadia are the following:

1. *Kleitōr*. The Kleitōrians celebrated a festival, the *Koriasia*, in honour of Athena Korīa,²⁴ and the athletic competitions attested at Kleitōr were presumably incorporated into this festival.²⁵ Competitions at Kleitōr are attested by a late-archaic/classical inscription, by Pindar as well as by post-classical inscriptions. The early inscription is IG IV 510,²⁶ on a fragment of small Doric column with capital found at the Argive Heraion. It carries two inscription (frs. a and

¹⁶ Brackertz 1976, 68–71; Jost 1985, 133, 290.

¹⁷ Cf. Bakchyl. Ep. fr. 1 (Irigoin); Schol. Pind. O. 10, 83a (Drachmann); Anderson 1970, 18.

¹⁸ Nielsen 2004, 518.

¹⁹ IG IV² 1 629, 8–9: Ποσειδαία [καὶ] Πώμια τὰ ἐν Ἀντιγονείᾳ δίπλων (Mantinea was named Antigoneia at this point).

²⁰ Jost 1985, 133: “Non loin du sanctuaire [of Poseidon Hippios], il y avait un stade et un hippodrome, où se déroulaient des concours en l’honneur de Poseidon, les Poseidaia; ils ne sont pas attestés avant le II^e s. av. J.-C., mais doivent être beaucoup plus anciens.”

²¹ The prominence of Mantinean athletes at the Olympic Games (below) in the classical period also suggests that there must have been a firmly rooted athletic culture in the city itself.

²² Moretti 1957, nos. 362, 377; cf. Roy 1972, 49.

²³ SEG 17 150, 6: ἐμ Μαινάλῳ; on the date: Amandry 1980, 220.

²⁴ On Athena Korīa, see Jost 1985, 42, 362.

²⁵ Kramer 1970, 40; Jost 1985, 42.

²⁶ Cf. SEG 14 315 and Moretti 1953, no. 7.

b), of which fr. a is a fragment of an agonistic victory catalogue in dactylic rhythm: [---] Νεμέαι Τεγέαι τε // [Κλ]έτορι Πελλάναι [---].²⁷ The discipline in which the victories at Nemea, Tegea, Kleitor and Pellene were won must have been indicated in the lost parts of the epigramme²⁸ and thus remains unknown. The monument was dedicated by one Timokles, whose ethnic is not included in the dedicatory formula (fr. b: Τιμοκ<λ>ἔξ μ' ἔθηκε). This Timokles need not have been a citizen of Argos, as Ebert supposes on the basis of the missing city-ethnic,²⁹ since the Heraion may not yet have been under the exclusive control of Argos;³⁰ he may have been from Mykenai or Tiryns or somewhere else in the Argolid. The important detail here is that he was hardly from Kleitor, since it allows the important conclusion that the festival at Kleitor admitted foreign entrants, a conclusion confirmed by the evidence provided by Pindar (below). The monument has traditionally been dated from the letter forms to the late sixth century (525–500 BC);³¹ and if this is accepted, the festival at Kleitor must have existed already in the sixth century. However, dating by letter forms produces only an approximate date, and The Packard Humanities Institute's web-page of "Searchable Greek Inscriptions" gives the date "bef. 460 BC" to the inscription.³²

Pindar refers to the festival at Kleitor in N. 10, 47, an ode in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos: Pindar here refers to one or, more probably, several victories at Kleitor by maternal ancestors of the honorandus, but unfortunately does not specify in which discipline(s) these victories were won, unless this is hinted at in verse 48: ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικᾶσαι σθένει – "to win with strength of feet and hands" (RACE 1997) – which points to athletics proper in contradistinction to equestrian events. The prizes awarded at Kleitor were bronze artefacts, according to Pindar.³³

Nemean 10 celebrates, not a Nemean victory but a victory by Theaios at the Argive *Hekatomboia*, achieved presumably in the first half of the 460s BC.³⁴ As pointed out, the ode catalogues victories won by maternal ancestors of Theaios at Kleitor and some of these may not impossibly belong to the later sixth century, so even if IG IV 510 is to be dated to the fifth century, the festival at Kleitor may be attested for the sixth century.

The agonistic programme of the *Koriasia* in the classical period is completely unknown, apart from the reference to athletics in Pindar; equestrian competitions have, however, been suggested on the basis of coin types;³⁵ and post-Classical inscriptions attest contests in boxing and the *dolichos* for this festival.³⁶

2. *Lousoi*. At Lousoi in northern Arkadia were celebrated contests at the *Hemerasia* in honour of the chief local divinity Artemis Hemera.³⁷ The earliest evidence attesting to the competitions is IG V 1, 1387, a fragmentary victory catalogue of the third century from Thouria in Messenia attesting to the existence of competitions in foot-races (*stadion* and

²⁷ Text after Ebert 1972, no. 10.

²⁸ Ebert 1972, 55.

²⁹ Ebert 1972, 55.

³⁰ The Heraion was prior to the 460s BC a "confederate sanctuary for all the communities of the Argive Plain" and came under the exclusive control of Argos only when this city had destroyed Mykenai in the 460s BC (Hall 1995, 613).

³¹ Moretti 1953, no. 7; Jeffery 1990, 169 no. 16; cf. Ebert 1972, no. 10; SEG 14, 315.

³² <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main> (visited October 21, 2015).

³³ N. 10.45–48: χαλκὸν ... ὃν τε Κλείτωρ ... θῆκε.

³⁴ Bowra 1964, 411.

³⁵ Jost 1985, 388.

³⁶ IG VII 47; Reinach 1886, 326f.

³⁷ Jost 1985, 47.

diaulos).³⁸ The festival is attested for the late fourth century if a series of decrees from Lousoi belong to the fourth rather than the third century which is possible.³⁹ The decrees⁴⁰ appoint *theorodokoi* in Charadros (Epeiros), Kyparissia (Messenia), Pharai (Achaia) and Amphissa (Lokris), thus attesting to the existence of a Lousiatan system of international *epangelia*,⁴¹ which in its turn suggests that the festival in principle admitted – and perhaps actively attempted to attract – foreign entrants in its competitions already in the Classical period. The festival and its competitions may possibly be attested for the fifth century but this depends on acceptance of the proposal by MERKELBACH that Bacchylides 11, in honour of the boy wrestler Alexidamos of Metapontion, celebrates a victory at the *Hemerasia* and not at the Delphic *Pythia*.⁴² This may or may not be so, but the evidence as it is does seem to indicate the existence of an athletic festival at Lousoi at least by the later fourth century.

3. *Mt. Lykaion*. The contests incorporated into the *Lykaia* in honour of Zeus Lykaios on Mt. Lykaion in Parrhasia are the best documented athletic competitions of Arkadia.⁴³ This may simply be a product of the accidents and contingencies determining the survival of evidence, or it may, more probably, mean that the Lykaian games were the most renowned athletic competitions of Arkadia;⁴⁴ so renowned was the festival that its foundation is recorded in *Marmor Parium* (A.31).

Several passages of celebratory poetry document the existence of the athletic festival in the earlier fifth century or perhaps even in the later sixth century: (a) An epigram which probably originally accompanied a monument erected in the late sixth or earlier fifth century⁴⁵ by the Korinthian athlete Nikolaidas, and transmitted in the *Anthologia Palatina* (13, 19),⁴⁶ lists the victories won by this Nikolaidas, an otherwise unknown athlete, among which are two in the *stadion* achieved ἐν Λυκαίῳ (Anth. Pal. 13, 19, 8). If the text dates to the late sixth century, the *Lykaia* in the late-archaic period admitted foreign entrants, recurred on a regular basis and had the *stadion* on its programme.

(b) At N. 10, 48, Pindar refers to one or, more probably, a number of victories at the *Lykaia* by ancestors of the honorandus, the wrestler Theaios of Argos; these victories were, it seems, achieved in foot-races and the heavy events, or, possibly, in the *pankration*,⁴⁷ i.e. in athletics proper in contradistinction to equestrian events. As pointed out above, it cannot be excluded that these victories should be dated to the late sixth century, which, if accepted, will confirm that the late-archaic *Lykaia* could be entered by foreign athletes.

(c) Pindar's *Olympian* 13 celebrates a double Olympic victory of 464 BC by Xenophon of Korinthos, but also makes several references to victories achieved by Xenophon's father Thessalos and other members of his extended family, the *Oligaitbidai*.⁴⁸ Thessalos was a

³⁸ See also S. Tausend 1999, 371.

³⁹ Perlman 2000, 159.

⁴⁰ For which see Perlman 2000, 240–243.

⁴¹ On which see Perlman 2000, 158–160.

⁴² See Merkelbach 1973, interpreting Bakchyl. 11 in honour of an athlete from Metapontion as celebrating a victory in the *Hemerasia* of Lousoi; cf. Perlman 2000, 159; S. Tausend 1999, 372f.

⁴³ See e.g. Ringwood 1927, 95–98; Kramer 1970, 30; Jost 1985, 267f.

⁴⁴ The cult of Zeus Lykaios may also have been of central importance to Arkadian identity (Nielsen 2013, 235 f.); this is not my main concern here, but see below.

⁴⁵ Page 1981, 268.

⁴⁶ On this epigram, see Blinkenberg 1919; Ebert 1972, no. 26 at 92–96; Merkelbach 1974 and 1987; and, in particular, Maróti 1990. See also Nielsen 2014, 11–14.

⁴⁷ καὶ Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς ἤϊκε δρόμον, σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικᾶσαι σθένει (“and Mount Lykaion set up beside the course of Zeus for swift feet and strong hands to win” (transl. by Nisetich 1980)).

⁴⁸ On the *Oligaitbidai*, see Barrett 1978.

successful athlete of the late sixth century and was victorious at both Olympia and Delphi as well as at Athens.⁴⁹ At O. 13, 98–113 Pindar catalogues the victories won by Xenophon's extended family at both Panhellenic and minor athletic festivals. The ode claims sixty victories for the family at Nemea and at the Isthmos (O. 13, 99) and some of these must almost of necessity belong to the sixth century, like Thessalos' Olympic victory of ca. 504 BC. A sixth century date is, then, also a possibility for some of the other victories which Pindar goes on to list (107–112). These were won at, among other places, Mt. Lykaion.⁵⁰ If it is accepted, that (some of the) victories of the *Oligaitheidai* on Mt. Lykaion should be dated to the late sixth century, it will be confirmed that the *Lykaia* recurred on a regular basis and accepted foreign entrants.

Alternatively, the evidence just discussed illuminates the fifth century. Other fifth-century sources referring to the competitions at the *Lykaia* are: (a) At O. 7, 83, Pindar catalogues a victory on Mt. Lykaion by the famous boxer Diagoras of Ialysos on Rhodos.⁵¹ On the reasonable assumption that Diagoras entered the boxing competition at the *Lykaia* as he did at Olympia,⁵² we may add *pyx* to the programme of the fifth-century *Lykaia*. (b) At O. 9, 95–96, in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous in East Lokris, Pindar refers to an earlier victory of the honorandus among “throngs of Parrhasians”,⁵³ that is, on Mt. Lykaion in Parrhasia. Accordingly, we may add *pale* to the programme of the *Lykaia* in the fifth century. (c) A statue base of the 420s BC from Delphi carries an epigram listing the victories by the son of Diagoras, the famous pancratiast⁵⁴ Dorieus of Ialysos (later Thourioi⁵⁵); included is a triple victory at the *Lykaia* (Syll³ 82, 7); we may, then, add *pankration* to the athletic programme of the festival and this source is, of course, another confirmation that the festival recurred on a regular basis.

In the late-archaic–early-classical period, to sum up, athletes from Korinthos, Argos, Opous and Rhodos entered the competitions at the *Lykaia*, which obviously admitted foreign entrants. The programme comprised at least the *stadion*, the *pale*, the *pyx* and the *pankration*.⁵⁶ That the festival recurred on a regular base is demonstrated by the existence of multiple victors, such as Nikolaidas (2) and Dorieus (3). The prizes awarded at the *Lykaia* were bronze artefacts, according to Pindar.⁵⁷

From the fourth century comes IG IV 673, a fourth-century decree by the *polis* of Hermion honouring a successful athlete – presumably one of its own citizens – who had won i.a. at the *Lykaia*;⁵⁸ it is not clear in which discipline he had competed, but line 6 of the decree has been restored to the effect that the unknown athlete had won in the *pankration* at Poteidaia

⁴⁹ See Moretti 1957, no. 154, where Thessalos' Olympic victory is dated to ca. 504 BC.

⁵⁰ 108: δσα τ' Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων | μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἀναξ (“and in Arkadia the regal altar of Lykaian Zeus will testify to the host of their successes” (transl. Nisetich 1980)).

⁵¹ τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ | ἔργα (“The prizes given in Arkadia” (transl. Nisetich 1980)). On Pindar's wording, see *infra*.

⁵² That Diagoras was a boxer is clear from verse 16 (πυγμαῖς) and 89 (πόξ).

⁵³ τὰ δὲ Παρρασίων στρατῶ | θαυμασιὸς ἔδον φάνη Ζηνὸς ἀμφὶ πανάγυριν Λυκαίου (“At Lykaian Zeus' festival, throngs of Parrhasians admired him” (transl. Nisetich 1980)).

⁵⁴ That Dorieus was a pancratiast is clear from Paus. 6, 7, 1.

⁵⁵ Xen. hell. 1, 5, 19.

⁵⁶ That the *stadion* and the *pale* were the two quintessentially Greek athletic events is argued persuasively by Golden 2013.

⁵⁷ N. 10, 45–48: χαλκὸν ... ὅν τε ... καὶ Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς ἦκε δρόμῳ. At the unusual celebration of the *Lykaia* by the mercenaries marching with Cyrus (Xen. an. 1, 2, 10) were awarded golden strigils, but this is probably to be ascribed to the extraordinary circumstances of that celebration (cf. Ringwood 1927, 97).

⁵⁸ IG IV 673, 3: [νικτῆ]σαντα Λύ[καια ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ].

in the Chalkidike,⁵⁹ and he was then probably a heavy-weighter. In addition, a victory catalogue of the second half of the fourth century found in the theatre at Argos records a wrestling victory by one Prateas at the *Lykaia*,⁶⁰ and another of ca. 350–325 BC, likewise from Argos, refers to one or more victories at the *Lykaia* by the foot-racer Kleainetos and adds the detail that the victory crown was in oak leaves.⁶¹ Finally, a victory catalogue from Lindos of ca. 300–290 BC records an equestrian victory at the *Lykaia* by Nikagoras of Rhodos.⁶² The best evidence for the *Lykaia* in the fourth century, however, comes from the site itself.

From the hippodrome on Mt. Lykaion itself come two stelae with victory catalogues of the later fourth century produced by the organisers themselves, the city of Megalopolis or some incarnation of the Arkadian Confederacy.⁶³ The competitors were divided into *paides* and *andres*, and contests included various equestrian disciplines (*telea synoris*, *tethrippon polikon*, *teleon tethrippon*, *keles*) as well as athletics proper, both foot-races (*stadion*, *dianulos*, *dolichos*, *hoplitodromos*), *pentathlon*, and heavy events (*pankration*, wrestling, and boxing), a programme very much resembling the Olympics. In addition to Arkadians, the catalogues list victors from Akarnania, Argos, Athens, Elis, Kassandreia, Macedonia, Rhodos, Sparta, and Syracuse. Whereas these victors are all listed with their city-ethnic (e.g. Ἀργεῖος, Λακεδαιμόνιος, Συρακόσιος), the numerous victors from Arkadia itself are listed simply with the regional ethnic Ἀρκάς. This is probably a reflection of the fact that the cult of Zeus Lykaios was traditionally of central importance to Arkadian identity,⁶⁴ and this seems to be confirmed by Xenophon's *Anabasis*: at 1, 2, 10 Xenophon reports that Cyrus stopped his march for three days during which Xenias, an Arkadian from Parrhasia where the cult of Zeus Lykaios was situated, celebrated the *Lykaia*, a gesture which can only be interpreted as a concession to Xenias himself or to the Arkadians among the mercenaries of Cyrus;⁶⁵ these, it has been calculated, constituted the largest single component of Cyrus' army, some 4,000 hoplites,⁶⁶ and they displayed to a remarkable degree their sense of ethnic community.⁶⁷ And, this close connection between the *Lykaia* and Arkadian identity may be the reason why Pindar at O. 7, 83 can identify the *Lykaia* simply by the vague τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ | ἔργα:⁶⁸ the *Lykaia* were the Arkadian agonistic festival.

In the late-archaic and classical period, to conclude, the *Lykaia*, comprised a varied athletic and equestrian programme much resembling the Olympics, awarded crowns of oak leaves and bronze artefacts as prizes and attracted competitors not only from Arkadia itself but also from Akarnania, Argos, Athens, Elis, Hermion, Ialysos, Kassandreia, Korinthos, Macedonia, Opous, Rhodos, Aparta and Syracuse.

⁵⁹ [Ποτι]δαία παγ[κράτιον].

⁶⁰ SEG 17 150, 2: πάλαν Λύκαια. For the date: Amandry 1980, 220.

⁶¹ CEG II 814, 8: δρυοστεφάνοις τε Λυκαίοις. Cf. Charneux 1985, 357f.; SEG 35 267. See also Ebert 1986.

⁶² I.Lindos 68.

⁶³ IG V 2, 549–550.

⁶⁴ Nielsen 2002, 61f. 148–152; Pretzler 2009, 93.

⁶⁵ Nielsen 2002, 149f.

⁶⁶ Roy 1967, 308f.; cf. Nielsen 2002, 61f. 148–152; Pretzler 2009, 93f.

⁶⁷ See Roy 1972, esp. 134f.

⁶⁸ Two scholia explicitly interpret this phrase as a reference to the *Lykaia*: 153b, 153d (Drachmann).

4. *Mainalos*. A mid-fourth century victory catalogue from Argos includes among the victories of the wrestler Prateas one won ἐμ Μαινάλῳι.⁶⁹ It is not completely evident exactly what this means: the reference may be to a contest at the city of Mainalos,⁷⁰ or it may be to a contest on Mt. Mainalon;⁷¹ whatever the case, the reference is clearly to an athletic festival in fourth-century Arkadia attracting an entrant from Argos and with *pale* on its programme.

5. *Pheneos*. At Pheneos were staged competitions in honour of the *Dioskouroi*, as is clear from an inscribed fifth-century bronze prize hydria found at Sinope;⁷² the provenance of the vessel suggests that the competitions attracted and admitted foreign entrants. Nothing is known about the agonistic programme of the festival, but the fact that it was celebrated in honour of the *Dioskouroi*, the patron divinities of athletics,⁷³ makes it a reasonable assumption that it included athletic competitions.

6. *Tegea*. At Tegea, a festival with *agones*, the *Aleaia*,⁷⁴ was celebrated in honour of the great goddess Athena Alea.⁷⁵ The athletic competitions at the festival may be traced back to the sixth century on the basis of the following evidence: (a) From Tegea itself comes an inscription dated 525–500 BC (IG V 2, 75);⁷⁶ the fragmentary epigram clearly accompanied a dedication to Alea and preserves the word [ἄ]ρεθλα. It thus seems a reasonable assumption that the monument is a dedication to Alea by a victorious competitor in her contests, probably a citizen of Tegea itself.

(b) The inscription from the Argive Heraion discussed above s. v. Kleitor also catalogues a victory at Tegea, thus possibly attesting to a foreign entrant at the *Aleaia* in the late sixth century.

(c) At N. 10, 47, Pindar refers to one or more victories at Tegea by ancestors of Theaios of Argos, presumably at the *Aleaia*, and on the reasoning set out above s. v. Kleitor some of these may belong to the sixth century.

(d) The epigram commemorating the Korinthian pentathlete and sprinter Nikolaidas and discussed above s.v. Mt. Lykaion catalogues one or possibly two victories in the *stadion* at Tegea,⁷⁷ thus possibly attesting to a Korinthian entry at the *Aleaia* in the late-sixth century.

This evidence may, as pointed out, relate to the late-sixth century; alternatively, it refers to the fifth century.⁷⁸ The prizes awarded at the *Aleaia* were bronze artefacts, according to Pindar;⁷⁹ the athletic programme of the festival in the late-archaic and classical period is unknown except for the *stadion*.⁸⁰ The athletic festival is not attested to by fourth-century sources, but it must have been incorporated into the *panegyris* of Athena Alea, and the *panegyris*

⁶⁹ SEG 17 150, 6; on the date: Amandry 1980, 220.

⁷⁰ On which see Nielsen 2004, 507.

⁷¹ On which see Nielsen 2002, 271–307.

⁷² SEG 39 1365 (ca. 470–450 BC): ἐκ Φενεῶν ἄρεθλα πᾶρ Δ[ι]οσκόροις.

⁷³ Young 2004, 78.

⁷⁴ On the *Aleaia*, see Kramer 1970, 57; Jost 1985, 374; Larmour 1999, 187 no. 57.

⁷⁵ On Athena Alea at Tegea, see Jost 1985, 145f. 151–154. 373f.; McInerney 2013, 55–60.

⁷⁶ On this inscription, see Ebert 1972a; Dubois 1986, 12f. Cf. Jost 1985, 374.

⁷⁷ Anth. Pal. 13, 19 = Ebert 1972, no. 26; admittedly, Τεγέα in verse 9 is an emendation of the transmitted Νεμέα which is, however, impossible, since Nemea is already mentioned in verse 7; the emendation seems certain and is commonly accepted.

⁷⁸ See also IG V 2, 113 of the early fifth century: it records a grant of *proedria*, presumably at the *Aleaia*.

⁷⁹ N. 10, 45–48: χαλκὸν ... ὃν τε ... καὶ Τεγέα ... θῆκε.

⁸⁰ A third-century victory catalogue from Tegea itself (IG V 2, 142) demonstrates that in this period competitors were divided into *paides* and *andres* and that the contests included one in the *dolichos*, the long-distance foot-race.

is attested in the fourth century;⁸¹ thus, the competitions presumably existed, as they did before and after the fourth century.

As emphasized above, these six athletic festival must constitute a minimum number: there were certainly other athletic festivals in Arkadia than these six, and it is not difficult to suggest which these may have been. Thus, it seems extremely likely that in addition to the festival in honour of the *Dioskouroi* there was at Pheneos an athletic festival, *Hermaia*, in honour of Hermes, the principal divinity of the *polis*.⁸² No archaic or classical source refers to this festival,⁸³ but it is in all probability referred to by a third-century agonistic inscription from Olympia⁸⁴ and mentioned by Pausanias and a Pindaric scholion.⁸⁵ However, Hermes was clearly an important divinity at Pheneos in the classical period: he is the divinity most commonly depicted on the classical coinage of the city⁸⁶ and the city dedicated a sculpture depicting the god at Olympia (Paus. 5, 27, 8). The statue was a work by Onatas of Aigina and thus probably antedates 460 BC (Pollitt 1990, 36–39). Hermes, then, was the principal divinity of Pheneos already in the classical period and it seems a safe assumption that the *Hermaia* were in existence prior to its first attestation. Moreover, the fact that some Arkadian *poleis* produced several victors in the contests of the *periodos* strongly indicates that there must have a well-developed athletic culture in these cities:⁸⁷ thus, Phigaleia produced two rather successful athletes, Arrachion with three periodic victories to his credit, and Narykidas with six. We have already seen that there is good reason to believe that Mantinea was home to an athletic festival (above) and that athletics were firmly rooted and embedded in Mantinean society is strongly suggested by the fact that they city produced six Olympic victors. Heraia produced eight Olympic victors and a well-developed sporting culture and infrastructure in this city is a safe inference.

III. Arkadian athletes attested outside Arkadia

Arkadians competed as athletes at festivals outside Arkadia. However, the surviving evidence illuminates only the really talented athletes who achieved victories at the contests of the *periodos*,⁸⁸ in particular at Olympia: such victories generated much more evidence than victories in contests of lesser prestige, and there is, as far as I know, no evidence for Arkadian entrants at festivals outside the *periodos*. But, obviously, to become a victor in the *periodos*, an athlete needed serious training and practice and this will have been provided i.a. by participation in festivals of lesser standing inside and outside Arkadia itself.

Organizers of an athletic festival often announced the festival outside their *polis* by a system of *epangelia*, such as is attested for Lousoi (above). By such festival-announcing the organizers

⁸¹ IG V 2, 3. 8; 26 (πανάγορις (cf. Chantraine 2009, 9 s.v. ἀγείρω)).

⁸² Paus. 8, 14, 10: θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεᾷται μάλιστα καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμαία; see Bölte 1938, 1970 and Jost 1985, 27–37; cf. Nielsen 2007, 76f.

⁸³ Pind. O. 6, 77–79 may possibly refer to these contests for Hermes, though the passage is perhaps more likely to refer to Stymphalos from which the honorandus of the ode originated and where a cult of Hermes may also have existed; cf. Jost 1985, 102f.; S. Tausend 1999, 374f.

⁸⁴ IvO 184, 4.

⁸⁵ Paus. 8, 14, 10 (cited in n. 82); Schol. Pind. O. 7, 153a: ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πολλοὶ ἀγῶνες ἔγονται· Λύκαια· Κόρεια· Ἑρμαία.

⁸⁶ Head 1911, 452; cf. IG V 2, 360 (a classical dedication to Hermes of Pheneos).

⁸⁷ On the periodic victors from Arkadia, see details below.

⁸⁸ The term *periodos* itself is a post-classical innovation (Remijsen 2014, 353; Remijsen 2015, 28f. 35), but I use it here for the sake of convenience to refer to the “Big Four” festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and on the Isthmos of Korinthos.

probably wanted both to attract public delegations of *theoroi* from other *poleis* and to bring their festival to the attention of high-profile athletes whose participation would enhance the festival's qualities as spectacle. To receive and provide for their epangelic envoys, festival-organizers appointed *theorodokoi* in the *poleis*-to-be-visited and such *theorodoikoi* is often our best evidence that a *polis* was visited by foreign festival-announcers. In the later fifth century, Delphic *theorodokoi* seem to have been appointed at Heraia, Methydion, Pallantion and Torthyneion.⁸⁹ This may be taken as an indication that the Delphic authorities did not find it implausible that fine athletes would reside in these city-states. In the fourth century, Argos appointed *theorodokoi* at Alea, Kleitor, Pheneos, Stymphalos⁹⁰ and possibly also at Tegea⁹¹ and Theisoa.⁹² These *theorodokoi* assisted envoys announcing both the Nemean Games and the *Hekatomboia* at the Argive Heraion, and again, the Argives must have thought it completely plausible that capable athletes would reside both at major cities such as Tegea and Kleitor and minor cities such as Alea and Theisoa.

Arkadia, in fact, produced an amazing number of victors in the contests of the *periodos* and so Arkadians were clearly ready to invest a good deal of leisure and considerable resources in athletics. The sheer number, moreover, of Arkadian periodic victors indicates that *numerous* Arkadians must have practiced athletics, since victors can, of course, constitute only a tiny fraction of any athletic population. Known periodic victors from Arkadia are the following:⁹³

Table 1: Periodic victors of Arkadia

1. *Agamator of Mantinea*: at 6, 9, 9, Pausanias records an Olympic victory monument commemorating Agamator of Mantinea, who was victorious in boxing for boys (κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας). The victory cannot be assigned to a specific Olympiad and MORETTI dates it tentatively to ca. 500 BC.⁹⁴
2. *Agesilas of Lousoi*: at 8, 18, 8, Pausanias cites as confirmation of the claim that Lousoi – in ruins in Pausanias' day – was once a *polis* the fact that Agesilas of Lousoi was the first victor of the horse race (κέλης) at the Pythian Games; his victory dates to 546 or 542 BC (JOST 1998, 198).
3. *Alexibios of Heraia*: at 6, 17, 4, Pausanias mentions an Olympic monument by the sculptor Akestor commemorating a victory in the *pantathlon* by Alexibios of Heraia. On the assumption that this Alexibios is identical with the Alexibios listed as a victor in the *pentathlon* at the *Lykaia* in IG V 2, 550, 18 of the later fourth century, Alexibios' Olympic victory may be dated to the later fourth century as well, and MORETTI (1957, no. 483) tentatively assigns it to 312 BC.
4. *Alketos of Kleitor*: at 6, 9, 2, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument by Kleon of Sikyon commemorating Alketos of Kleitor who was victorious in boys' boxing (κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας). Kleon is a well-known sculptor, active in the first half of the fourth century;⁹⁵ accordingly, MORETTI (1957, no. 395) tentatively assigns Alketos's victory to 384 BC.

⁸⁹ See REG 62 (1949) 6.

⁹⁰ SEG 23, 189, II 21–25 (ca. 330 BC).

⁹¹ Perlman 2000, 233 (A.26: post 315 BC).

⁹² Goester et al. 2007, 200–202.

⁹³ Based on Moretti 1957; Strasser 2001; Kostorou 2008; Farrington 2012.

⁹⁴ Moretti 1957, no. 163; cf. Jacquemin 2002, 161, accepting this dating.

⁹⁵ Cf. IvO 167; see also Jacquemin 2002, 88. On Kleon, see Lippold 1992, 720f. This Kleon also sculpted monuments commemorating Deinolochos of Elis (1957, no. 401); Hysmon of Elis (no. 391); Kritodamos of Kleitor (no. 406); and Lykinos of Heraia (no. 394).

5. *Androstenes of Mainalia*: according to Thuk. 5, 49, 1, Androstenes (whom he describes simply as *Arkas*) won his first Olympic victory in the men's *pankration* in 420 BC; he was, accordingly, a double Olympic victor (cf. Paus. 6, 6, 1; MORETTI 1957, nos. 336 and 343). Paus. 6, 6, 1 mentions his victory monument at Olympia, a work by his fellow Mainalian Nikodamos. It is unknown to which local Mainalian community Androstenes belonged.
6. *Anonymous athletes of Methydrion*: at 8, 36, 1, Pausanias says the following in reference to the city of Methydrion: πρὶν δὲ ἢ συντελεῖν ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικόν, γεγόνασιν καὶ Μεθυδριεῦσιν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι. If this is to be taken literally, at least two Methydrion athletes must have victorious at Olympia prior to 372 BC (cf. MORETTI 1957, nos. 412–413).
7. *Apollonides of Tegea*: according to Diodorus Siculus 20, 37, 1, in 308 BC the *stadion* at Olympia was won by Apollonides of Tegea (MORETTI 1957, no. 486).
8. *Arrachion of Phigaleia*: This famous athlete was a triple Olympic victor in the *pankration* in the sixth century (Paus. 8, 40, 1); MORETTI assigns his victories to 572–564 BC (1957, nos. 95, 99 and 102).
9. *Damarchos of Parrhasia*: at 6, 8, 2, Pausanias cites verbatim an epigram which must have accompanied a monument celebrating a victory in men's boxing (πύκτην ἀνδρα) by Damarchos of Parrhasia. The only evidence for the date of his victory are the following arguments: (a) the fact that the epigram describes Damarchos as Παρράσιος; the sub-ethnic federation of the Parrhasians is not attested after 368 BC, presumably because all the communities of the Parrhasians were synoicized into Megalopolis;⁹⁶ since it seems unlikely that an *Olympionikes* would describe himself as a citizen of a polity no longer in existence, Damarchos' victory ought to pre-date the synoicism of Megalopolis (ca. 371–368 BC); and (b) the style of the epigram, the simplicity of which seems decidedly pre-Hellenistic;⁹⁷ accordingly, MORETTI's tentative date of ca. 400 BC for the victory can be accepted (1957, no. 359). It is unknown to which local Parrhasian community Damarchos belonged.
10. *Damaretos of Heraia*: Damaratos of Heraia was a double Olympic victor in the *hoplitodromos*: at 6, 10, 4, Pausanias refers to an Olympic victory monument (*andrias*) by Chrysothemis and Eutelidas of Argos commemorating him and states that he was victorious both the first and the second time the *hoplitodromos* was contested, i.e. in 520 and 516 BC (cf. MORETTI 1957, nos. 132 and 138). On this account, he says elsewhere (8, 26, 2), Damaretos was the most famous athlete of Arkadia.
11. *Damoxenidas of Mainalia*: at 6, 6, 3, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating a victory in men's boxing (ἀνδρα πύκτην); according to Pausanias, the sculpture was a work by Nikodamos of Mainalia, and this is confirmed by the surviving inscription, IvO 158. This Nikodamos also produced the sculpture commemorating the victories by Androstenes of Mainalia which are firmly dated to 420–416 BC. Accordingly, MORETTI tentatively dates Damoxenidas' victory to ca. 384 (1957, no. 393). It is unknown to which local Mainalian community Damoxenidas belonged.
12. *Dromeus of Mantinea*: in 480 BC, Dromeus of Mantinea was victor *akoni* in the *pankration* at Olympia (Paus. 6, 11, 4; cf. MORETTI 1957, no. 202).

⁹⁶ Nielsen 2002, 305.

⁹⁷ Moretti 1957, no. 359; accepted by Jacquemin 2002, 148.

13. *Dromeus of Stymphalos*: according to Paus. 6, 7, 10, Dromeus of Stymphalos was a double Olympic victor, a double Pythian victor, a triple Isthmian victor and a quintuple Nemean victor in the *dolichos*, thus achieving no less than twelve victories in the *periodos*. He is said to have developed a diet based on meat (*ibid.*) and thus must have had some theoretical interest in athletic training. His statue at Olympia was a work by Pythagoras of Rhegion, an artist known to have been active in the earlier fifth century.⁹⁸ Accordingly, his victories should date to the earlier/first half of the fifth century and MORETTI tentatively assigns the dates 484 and 480 BC to his Olympic victories (1957, nos. 188 and 199); STRASSER (2001, no. 23) dates his Pythian victories in the period ca. 500–470 BC or as late as 450 BC (cf. KOSTOUROU 2008, no. 57; FARRINGTON 2012, no. 1, 25).
14. [—] *emos of Parrhasia*: P.Oxy. 222 I 41 lists [—]emos of Parrhasia as victor in boys' wrestling in 468 BC (MORETTI 1957, no. 243).
15. *Ephoudion of Mainalia*: at Vesp. 1191, Aristophanes refers to an apparently famous pancratiast called Ephoudion; according to a scholion to the passage, an Ephoudion of Mainalia was Olympic victor in 464 BC, and this is probably the Ephoudion referred to by Aristophanes.⁹⁹ According to Hesych. s.v. Εφωδίων, this athlete was a *periodonikes* (KNAB 1934, no. 10),¹⁰⁰ but no further details are known and it is unclear to which local Mainalian community he belonged.
16. *Epikrados of Mantinea*: at 6, 10, 9, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating a victory in boys' boxing (ἐν παῖσιν ... πυγμῆς) by Epikrados of Mantinea. The monument was a work by the sculptor Ptolichos of Aigina; this sculptor also produced a commemorative monument for Theognetos of Aigina (Paus. 6, 9, 1) whose Olympic victory is securely dated to 476 BC (P.Oxy. 222 I 15; MORETTI 1957, no. 217); Epikrados' victory, then, should belong to the earlier fifth century as well, and MORETTI (1957, no. 193) tentatively dates it to 484 BC.
17. *Eurybatos of Lousoi*: the victor of the first wrestling contest in 708 BC (as tradition has it) was one Eurybatos. This athlete was probably from Lousoi (NIELSEN 2002, 211) though he may have been a Spartan (MORETTI 1957, no. 22).
18. *Euthymenes of Mainalos*: at 6, 8, 5, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating the wrestler Euthymenes of Mainalos who was a double Olympic victor with a victory among the boys and one among the men (MORETTI 1957, nos. 362 and 377). The monument was a work by the sculptor Alypos of Sikyon who was active in the late fifth to early fourth century.¹⁰¹ Euthymenes was from the city of Mainalos (as opposed to the sub-region of Mainalia) as is clear from Pausanias' phrasing (ἐξ αὐτῆς Μαινάλου).
19. *Gnathon of Dipaia*: at 6, 7, 9, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating a victory in boys' boxing by Gnathon of Dipaia in Mainalia. The monument was a work by the sculptor Kallikles of Megara who was probably active in

⁹⁸ Pollitt 1990, 43–46. This Pythagoras also sculpted monuments commemorating Leontiskos of Messana (Moretti 1957, nos. 271 and 285); Protolaos of Mantinea (no. 256); Euthymos of Lokroi Epizephyrioi (nos. 191, 214, 227); Astylos of Kroton (nos. 178–179, 186–187); Mnaseas of Kyrene (no. 194); Kratisthenes of Kyrene (no. 257).

⁹⁹ MacDowell 1971, 285.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Moretti 1957, no. 253; Strasser 2001, no. 37; Kostourou 2008, no. 70; Farrington 2012, no. 1, 50.

¹⁰¹ Jacquemin 2002, 85f.

the second half of the fifth century.¹⁰² Accordingly, MORRETTI tentatively accepts a date of ca. 440 BC for Gnathon's victory (1957, no. 314).

20. *Kleomantis of Kleitor*: the victor in the Olympic *stadion* of 336 BC was Kleomantis of Kleitor (Diod. 19, 91, 1).
21. *Kritodamos of Kleitor*: at 6, 8, 5, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating a victory in boys' boxing (πυγμαλ ... παίδων) by Kritodamos of Kleitor; the monument was a work by the sculptor Kleon of Sikyon (cf. IvO 167), known to have been active in the first half of the fourth century.¹⁰³ Accordingly, MORETTI 1957, no. 406 tentatively proposed 376 BC as the date of Kritodamos' victory.
22. *Kyniskos of Mantinea*: at 6, 4, 11, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating a victory in boys' boxing (πύκτη παιδί) by Kyniskos of Mantinea; the monument was a work by the famous sculptor Polykleitos of Argos who was active ca. 465–425 BC.¹⁰⁴ The base survives as IvO 149 and dates to the mid-fifth century (JEFFERY 1990, 212). Accordingly, Kyniskos' victor is commonly dated ca. 460 (MORETTI 1957, no. 265; EBERT 1972, 82 f.).
23. *Lykinos of Heraia*: at 6, 10, 9, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating a victory in boys' *stadion* (ἐν παῖσιν ... δρόμου). The monument was a work by the sculptor Kleon of Sikyon, known to have been active in the first half of the fourth century.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, MORETTI (1957, no. 394) tentatively dated Lykinos' victory to 384 BC.
24. *Narykidas of Phigaleia*: at 6, 6, 1, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating the wrestler Narykidas of Phigaleia. The monument was a work by the well-known sculptor Daidalos of Sikyon, who was active ca. 410–370 BC (EBERT 1972, 104). MORETTI (1957, no. 392) tentatively proposes the date 384 BC for Narykidas' victory. The epigram accompanying the monument survives as IvO 161 (= EBERT 1972, no. 36), unfortunately in a heavily fragmentary state. Apart from at least one Olympic victory, the epigram in verse 3 catalogues three Isthmian victories by Narykidas: [---] ἐνίκων κα[?] τρις ἐν Ἰθμοῖ (cf. FARRINGTON 2012, no. 1.62). Obviously, the first half of the hexameter must have listed other victories, most probably at Delphi and Nemea;¹⁰⁶ if so, Narykidas was in fact a *periodonikes* and achieved *as a minimum* six victories in the *periodos*.
25. *Neolaidas of Pheneos*: at 6, 1, 3, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating the boy boxer (πυγμαλς ἐν παῖσιν) Neolaidas of Pheneos. The monument was a work by the sculptor Alypos of Sikyon who was active in the late fifth to early fourth century.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, MORETTI (1957, no. 380) tentatively proposes the date 392 BC for Neolaidas' victory.
26. *Nikostratos of Heraia*: at 6, 3, 11, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating the wrestler Nikostratos of Heraia. The monument was a work by the sculptor Pantias of Chios, known to have been active in the later fifth to fourth

¹⁰² Jacquemin 2002, 141.

¹⁰³ On Kleon, see above n. 95.

¹⁰⁴ Ebert 1972, 82.

¹⁰⁵ On Kleon, see above n. 95.

¹⁰⁶ Tzifopoulos 1991, 121.

¹⁰⁷ Jacquemin 2002, 85f.

century.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, MORETTI (1957, no. 344) tentatively dates Nikostratos' victory to 416 BC.

27. [—]phanes of Heraia: P.Oxy. 222 I 3 lists [Dio?]phanes of Heraia as the victor in boys' boxing in 480 BC (cf. MORETTI 1957, no. 205).
28. *Protolaos of Mantinea*: at 6, 6, 1, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating the boy boxer (πυγμαῖ παῖδας) Protolaos of Mantinea. (MORETTI 1957, ca. 464 BC). The monument was a work by Pythagoras of Rhegion, an artist known to have been active in the earlier fifth century.¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, MORETTI (1957, no. 256) proposes the date 464 BC for Protolaos' victory.
29. *Pytharchos of Mantinea*: at 6, 7, 1, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory commemorating the boy *stadiodromos* Pytharchos of Mantinea; he does not give the date of the victory nor does he name the sculptor of the monument. The commonly accepted date of ca. 464 (cf. MORETTI 1957, no. 254) is based on the dates of the sculptures standing in the vicinity of that of Pytharchos, and thus can be only very tentative.
30. *Tellon of Oresthasion*: P.Oxy. 222 I 29 list Tellon of Mainalia (of which Oresthasion was a part) as victor in boys' boxing in 472 BC. He was commemorated by a sculpture at Olympia; Pausanias mentions it but does not know the identity of the sculptor (6, 10, 1). The base survives as IvO 147–148: it does not include a sculptor's signature.
31. *Theopompos I of Heraia*: Theopompos was son of Damaretos (no. 10 above), and also a double Olympic victor, in the *pentathlon*; the statue commemorating him at Olympia was a work by Chrysothemis and Eutelidas of Argos, as was that of his father (Paus. 6, 10, 5). MORETTI (1957, nos. 189 and 200) tentatively dates Theopompos' victories to 484–480 BC.
32. *Theopompos II of Heraia*: son of Theopompos I (no. 31 above) and a double Olympic victor in wrestling (MORETTI 1957, nos. 313 and 317). Pausanias saw a statue commemorating him at Olympia, but did not know the identity of its sculptor (6, 10.4). MORETTI tentatively dates Theopompos' victories to 440–436 BC.
33. *Xenokles of Mainalia*: at 6, 9, 2, Pausanias mentions an Olympic victory monument commemorating the boy wrestler Xenokles of Mainalia. The monument was a work by Polykleitos; the base survives as IvO 164, and it dates later than the great Polykleitos and so the sculptor here must be Polykleitos the Younger.¹¹⁰ MORETTI (1957, no. 408) tentatively proposes the date 372 BC for Xenokles' victory, which seems a bit late.¹¹¹

Thirty-three Arkadian athletes, then, achieved among them at least 60 periodic victories down to 300 BC. This, in fact, is a fine record and demonstrates that athletics was as firmly rooted in Arkadia as in other regions whose "real Greekness" is never in dispute, as will be clear from a comparison of the Arkadian record with those of Sicily, Boiotia and the Argolid.¹¹² In general, the coincidences of the transmission of evidence on athletics probably affect all regions to more or less the same degree, but it should be noted that whereas no epinician ode celebrating an Arkadian athlete survives,¹¹³ odes celebrating competitors from Sicily, Boiotia and the Argolid do survive so that, if anything, we have more evidence for

¹⁰⁸ Jacquemin 2002, 109.

¹⁰⁹ On Pythagoras, see n. 98 above.

¹¹⁰ Ebert 1972, 108f.; Jacquemin 2002, 154.

¹¹¹ Tzifopoulos 1991, 169.

¹¹² I define Boiotia and the Argolid here as they are defined in Hansen – Nielsen 2004.

¹¹³ The honorandus of Pind. O. 6, Hagesias of Syracuse, originated from Stymphalos, however; but the ode provides no details on Arkadian athletes or athletic in Arkadia.

these regions than for Arkadia, where we depend almost exclusively on Pausanias and P.Oxy. 222. Twenty-four athletes representing Sicilian *poleis* achieved among them 69 periodic victories down to 300 BC; nineteen athletes from Boiotia achieved 33 victories; and thirty athletes from the Argolid achieved 85 victories. In terms of the number of individual victors, Arkadia comes off very well, producing more individual victors than any of the three other regions.¹¹⁴ In terms of the number of victories, the Arkadian record compares well with those of Sicily and Boiotia, indeed, it surpasses that of Boiotia; it does, it is true, pale a little in comparison with the Argive record of 85 victories, but that number is somewhat inflated by the fact that the immensely successful sprinter Dandis was from Argos: he alone won no less than 22 periodic victories. If we subtract those 22 victories, the Argive record resembles the Arkadian one very much.

If we exclude the erratic case of Eurybatos of Lousoi, Olympic victor in 708 BC and possibly even a Spartan, all Arkadian victors belong to the sixth century or later, whereas the other regions produced victors much earlier: Syracuse in 648 BC; Thebes in 680 BC; Epidauros in 712 BC and Kleonai in 732 BC. This may possibly mean that athletics took off seriously in Arkadia only in the sixth century, as several other aspects of Greek culture did in this region.¹¹⁵ The sixth century was, however, exactly the period in which the athletic festival developed into one of the most characteristic phenomena of Greek culture,¹¹⁶ and so the Arkadians may be said to have directed their attention to the *periodos* as soon as it gained momentum. Moreover, the work of P. CHRISTESEN has demonstrated beyond doubt that Olympic chronology prior to the sixth century must be basically a construct by Hippias of Elis,¹¹⁷ and we should not, accordingly, base any important argument on this chronology: in other words, it is not really a datum that the other regions produced victors before Arkadia did.

Among the Arkadian victors is only a single equestrian victor, Agesilas of Lousoi (no. 2 above) who won the *keles* at Delphi in 546 or 542 BC.¹¹⁸ In comparison, Sicily produced ten equestrian victors who achieved 17 victories; Boiotia produced five equestrian victors with 6 victories; and the Argolid produced three victors with 19 victories. This ought to mean that the elites of Arkadia did not invest significant resources in equestrianism but had other agonistic priorities. This impression of a lack of interest in equestrianism finds support in the fact that cavalry forces played no role at all in Arkadian waging of war in the archaic and classical periods.¹¹⁹ Presumably, as has been suggested, Arkadian landowners did not rear (race) horses to any significant degree,¹²⁰ and so Arkadians would have had to buy their way into competitions if they had equestrian inclinations. This, however, would have brought them into direct competition for the best teams with the absolute economic elites of the entire Greek world, such as e.g. Sicilian tyrants and kings of Sparta and Kyrene: the contrast

¹¹⁴ See Appendix for the details on the other regions.

¹¹⁵ See Nielsen 2002, 215–226.

¹¹⁶ See note 9 above.

¹¹⁷ Christesen 2007b, 147; Christesen 2010, 27.

¹¹⁸ A late-sixth century inscription from Tegea (Ebert 1975, no. 8) has been restored to yield a sixfold victor in equestrian competitions at Nemea.

¹¹⁹ Roy 1999, 330.

¹²⁰ Hodkinson – Hodkinson 1981, 278f. – This is not to deny that (race) horses *were* reared in Arkadia, but they seem to have been reared primarily for export (K. Tausend 1999, 366–368; S. Tausend 1999, 379). Equestrian competitions are attested for the *Lykaia* in the fourth century (IG V 2, 549–550: four Arkadians are listed as equestrian victors) and probably existed at both Lousoi and Pheneos in the third century (S. Tausend 1999, 375f.); there were hippodromes at both Mantinea (Paus. 8, 10, 1–2) and Mainalos (Paus. 8, 36, 8).

between the equestrian feats of Arkadians and Sicilian Greeks, in fact, is particularly strong. Racing horses, of course, “was a proverbial proof of wealth,”¹²¹ and even if Arkadia was not as poor a region as often thought (above) the elites of the region were incapable of challenging such figures as e.g. the Deinomenids of Sicily who had “vast resources at their disposal.”¹²² But subtract the equestrian competitions, and the Arkadians more than stand up to the other regions: they generally surpass them. If we disregard equestrian successes, 32 Arkadian athletes achieved 59 periodic victories; for Sicily the figures are 14/52; for Boiotia 14/33; and for the Argolid 27/66. Moreover, the Sicilian record is inflated by the presence of two non-Sicilian athletes naturalized by Sicilian rulers: Astylos and Dikon, who both came to compete under the Syracusan flag, so to speak. Subtract these two superstars and the figure for Sicily is 12/32. The Argive figure is impressive, but, as already noted, it includes the immensely successful sprinter Dandis who alone took 22 periodic crowns; subtract him and the Argive figure is 26/44. There are no such superstars among the Arkadian victors, the most successful being the aptly-named long-distance runner Dromeus of Stymphalos (no. 13 above) with 12 periodic victories to his credit. But even if we subtract him, the Arkadian figure is 31/47. On the other hand, no less than eight (other) Arkadian athletes¹²³ won more than one periodic victory “a fact that suggests a level of specialization and athletic skill that can be achieved only through chronic and methodological training.”¹²⁴ So, even allowing for the serious difficulties involved in such comparisons, the conclusion must be that the successes of Arkadian athletes and in particular the great number of individual victors must be considered a strong indication that the athletic life-style was as firmly rooted among the leisured classes of Arkadia as among those of the rest of the Greek world.

Among the 33 Arkadian victors are no less than fourteen boy victors. Among the victors from the Argolid are two boys and among the Boiotian eight – whereas there are no boys among the Sicilian victors. It thus seems that proximity to the great mainland sport sites was among the factors producing boy victors. This is confirmed by the observation that boys from Elis constitute 22.5 % of all known Olympic boy victors and that Peloponnesian boys constitute 57.5 %.¹²⁵ It is clear, then, that the marked Arkadian success in the *periodos* must be ascribed partly to the geographical position of the region. However, even boys must train seriously to become victors and they will presumably have done so at home. Arkadian boy victors, then, must be considered evidence of a developed athletic infrastructure and a firmly rooted athletic culture in the *poleis* of Arkadia.

In conclusion, in terms of the crucially important phenomenon of agonistic athletics, Arkadia was by no means an undeveloped backwater but an active participant from the mid-sixth century onwards.

IV. On the significance of the evidence surveyed

The evidence for Arkadian involvement in athletics surveyed above is important and suggestive in a number of ways and particularly so on account of the considerable extent of this involvement. First of all, athletics were construed as an ethnic boundary marker

¹²¹ Kyle 2007, 161 (cf. 127); cf. Kyle 2014, 30. See also Miller 2000, 280; Pritchard 2013, 133f.

¹²² Antonaccio 2014, 198.

¹²³ Narykidas of Phigaleia (6); Ephoudion of Mainalia (4); Arrachion of Phigaleia (3); Androsthenees of Mainalia (2); Damaretos of Heraia (2); Euthymenes of Mainalos (2); Theopompos I of Heraia (2); Theopompos II of Heraia (2).

¹²⁴ Papakonstantinou 2014, 89.

¹²⁵ Crowther 1989, 207f. = 2004, 110f.

distinguishing Greeks from *barbaroi*,¹²⁶ and according to this criterion the Arkadians were as fully Greeks as any others. Secondly, and more importantly, athletic festivals must have created extensive interaction among the elites of the Greek world and offered a perfect framework for this interaction. Arkadian athletes travelled to athletic festivals to which athletes from most of the rest of the Greek world also travelled, and interaction other than competition was bound to occur. Likewise, athletes from other Greek regions travelled to Arkadia to compete in *agones* at such major sites as Kleitor and Tegea and here they will inevitably have met locals other than athletes. Furthermore, athletes such as e.g. Diagoras of Rhodos and Nikolaïdas of Korinth, who both competed at festivals in Arkadia as well at numerous other locations, and Dromeus of Stymphalos, who competed and won at all four festivals of the *periodos*, must have travelled a lot. How did they know where to go? In the cases of the festivals of the *periodos* as well as in the case of Lousoi, we know that the *polis* arranging an athletic festival announced upcoming celebrations internationally by epangelic systems. The many other *poleis* who arranged athletic festivals probably also announced their festivals in one way or another, not least in order to attract high-profile athletes. They need not all have done so on a *Panhellenic* scale, as e.g. Elis did, but may have restricted the announcement to for instance a more regional level, as Mainalos probably did if it announced its festival outside the city itself, as seems likely since it attracted an entrant from Argos. But even so the simple business of announcing upcoming celebrations must have sent a good deal of official delegations on to the roads to make announcements in foreign *poleis* and this must have created a good deal official interaction among Arkadian *poleis* and *poleis* elsewhere. Moreover, official delegations and private individuals will have travelled to athletic destinations to watch the rituals and the contests as representatives of their home-*polis* or for their own pleasure.¹²⁷ Not every single Arkadian festival will have resembled the Olympics in this respect, but some will have resembled at least a little, such as for example the *Lykaia* or the *Aleaia* at the major city of Tegea. Others such as the festival at Pheneos will probably have created such interaction on a quite modest level, but what matters here is not really the individual festivals but the not insignificant number of festivals which must all have created at least some interaction. Such interaction will have eased the establishment of private intercity networks, it will have helped spread news, rumours and new ideas in for instance politics and other intellectual spheres, in short: It will have contributed to the sense of intercity cohesion among the Arkadians and other Greeks.

One remarkable example of an inter-city link probably produced by athletics is documented by an early Hellenistic inscription from Delphi:¹²⁸

“Δελφοὶ ἀνεπέωσαν[ο] τὰν προξενίαν καὶ θεωροδοκίαν τοῖς Δρομέος ἐγγόνις Στυμφαλίοις
Ἐρ<γ>ῖπποι καὶ Δρομεῖ Ἀλεξίωνος, ἄρχοντος Λύσω-
νος, βουλευόντων Ἀριστίωνος, Ἀσωποδώρου,
Φιλώνδα.”

Delphic *proxenia* and *theorodokia* was obviously hereditary in the family of Ergippos and Dromeus, as is clear from the fact that this grant is a renewal and that ca. 230–220 BC one Ergippos son of Alexion was Delphic *theorodokos*.¹²⁹ FdD 1, 38 identifies the honorandi as “the descendants of Dromeus” and the Dromeus in question must be the famous

¹²⁶ Golden 1998, 4f.; Hansen 2000, 144; Kyle 2007, 80; Nielsen 2007, 12–28; Nielsen 2014, 24f.

¹²⁷ See Perlman 2000 and Rutherford 2013.

¹²⁸ FdD 1, 38.

¹²⁹ Plassart 1921, 1 II 117.

Stymphalian athlete (no. 13 above) of the fifth century, whose memory must have been alive more than 150 years after the end of his career. It seems highly likely that the athlete had been honoured with appointment as *proxenos* by Delphi and perhaps also with appointment as *theorodokos*, if this institution was distinguished from the *proxenia* in the earlier fifth century; but even if it was not, Dromeus presumably, in his capacity of *proxenos*, provided the services needed by the Delphic *theoroi* at Stymphalos.¹³⁰ It seems highly likely, moreover, that what brought Dromeus to the attention of the Delphic authorities was his physical presence at Delphi and so most probably his athletic feats – though he may, of course, also have visited Delphi as a member of an official Stymphalian delegation. Such physical presence may also be assumed for the men appointed *theorodokoi* at Heraia, Methydriion, Pallantion and Torthyneion by Delphi and at Alea, Kleitor, Pheneos, Stymphalos, Tegea and Theisoa by Argos (above).

Clearly, athletic festivals at major sanctuaries provided an ideal framework for elite interaction. This function of athletic festivals was one which was well understood by classical Greek intellectuals, as appears clearly from two well-known passages in Lysias and Isokrates. Lysias, in his *Olympikos* delivered at Olympia in 388 BC, ascribes to Herakles, the mythical founder of the Olympics, the wish to promote friendship (*philia*) among the Greeks as his motive for founding the festival;¹³¹ and the Athenian intellectual Isokrates in his *Panegyrikos*, a literary essay in the style of an Olympic oration, has a longer and more general reflection on the benefits of *panegyreis* as such:

“Now the founders of our great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom by which, having proclaimed a truce and resolved our pending quarrels, we come together in one place, where, as we make our prayers and sacrifices in common, we are reminded of the kinship which exists among us and are made to feel more kindly towards each other for the future, reviving our old friendships and establishing new ties.”¹³²

The example of Dromeus demonstrates that this is not simply rhetorical clichés but has a basis in social reality. And, as I have aimed to demonstrate in this paper, Arkadian individuals (as athletes) and Arkadian polities (as festival-organizers) participated extensively in the agonistic life of the Greek city-state culture. This participation brought foreigners to Arkadia and Arkadians to major sites outside the region where they must have interacted extensively with elites of the rest of the Greek world.

One final example of Arkadian participation in the athletic culture concerns victory commemoration, a particularly visible area of the athletic culture on account of the actual survival of several verbal monuments and sculptural bases as well as on account of the sixth book of Pausanias’ *periegesis*. Admittedly, on present evidence, it seems that Arkadian elites did not commission epinician odes, a conspicuous medium in which agonistic victory was celebrated and commemorated ca. 550–450 BC.¹³³ How this apparent absence of Arkadian epinician commissions should be explained is not obvious, but it seems clear that the practice of commissioning epinician odes was not as widespread as the practice of commissioning commemorative sculptural monuments (below). On the evidence available, the elites of other

¹³⁰ Perlman 2000, 19f.

¹³¹ Lys. 33, 2.

¹³² Isokr. paneg. 43 (transl. Norlin 1928).

¹³³ It cannot, however, be completely excluded that Bakchyl. Ep. fr. 1 (Irigoin) comes from an ode celebrating a Mantinean.

areas such as e.g. Cyprus, Ionian Asia Minor, Crete, and Euboia¹³⁴ seem not to have commissioned such odes either; also noteworthy is the fact that Spartans apparently did not commission epinician odes,¹³⁵ only two hypothetical epinicians honouring Spartan athletes being known, one possibly by Ibykos¹³⁶ another possibly by Pindar;¹³⁷ remarkable absentees include also Elis and Kleonai, both hostess-cities of famous Panhellenic competitions.¹³⁸ Local conditions, communal traditions, as well as individual social aspirations or pretensions, were presumably of some significance among the factors prompting or discouraging commission of epinician odes, then.¹³⁹ Accordingly, the fact the Arkadians did not commission (known) epinician odes cannot be taken as an indication of lack of literary refinement.

But Arkadians did commission sculptural monuments to commemorate their victories. In the mid-sixth century victorious athletes began perpetuating the glory created by their athletic feats by sculptures erected at e.g. Olympia, and by the end of the sixth century the practice of erecting expensive commemorative monuments had become quite popular with the leisured elites.¹⁴⁰ Some of the most famous Greek sculptors produced such commemorative sculpture, e.g. Myron of Athens¹⁴¹ and Polykleitos of Argos.¹⁴² No less than twenty-three of the known thirty-three periodic victors from Arkadia were commemorated by such victory monuments at Olympia,¹⁴³ and orders were placed with famous masters like Pythagoras of Rhegion¹⁴⁴ and Polykleitos of Argos¹⁴⁵ as well as with other well-known artists such as Kallikles of Megara¹⁴⁶ and Kleon of Sikyon.¹⁴⁷ By commissioning statues to perpetuate the glory of their victories, then, Arkadian elites came into contact with well-travelled artists and, more importantly, inscribed themselves and their achievements into the shared elite

¹³⁴ Note, however, that according to Herodotos (5, 102, 3) Eualkides of Eretria, victor in *stephanephoroi agones*, had been praised by Simonides, presumably in one or more (Molyneux 1992, 45) epinician odes (Sim. fr. 518 (Campbell)). See also Hornblower 2014, 225. Simonides may also have composed for Glaukos of Karystos (Molyneux 1992, 33–41) who at some point relocated to Sicily.

¹³⁵ Buhmann 1972, 52. See also Hodkinson 2000, 317–319 who notes the comparative absence of Spartans among epinician honorandi and explains it as a function of the heavily state-directed uses to which choral lyrics were put at Sparta: these were counter-conducive to epinician poetry celebrating individual exploits and advertising family lineages.

¹³⁶ Barron 1984 suggested that the mid-sixth century lyric poet Ibykos of Rhegion in South Italy was a precursor to Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides in the production of epinician odes. This suggestion has met with general approval, it seems (Jenner 1986; Hornblower 2004, 21f.; Hornblower – Morgan 2007, 11; Thomas 2007, 146; Lowe 2007, 167; Rawles 2012). More specifically, Barron suggested that Ibykos composed an epinician ode in honour of a Spartan who had achieved an athletic victory at Sikyon (cf. Hornblower 2004, 21 and Rawles 2012, 9).

¹³⁷ D'Alessio 2012, 48–54, discussing P.Oxy. 2541.

¹³⁸ It is sometimes assumed that Simonides composed an epinician in honour of Eualkidas of Elis (for whom see Paus. 6, 16, 6), but see Molyneux 1992, 45.

¹³⁹ See e.g. Mitchell 2000, 94f. and Hornblower 2004, 244 on the probable motives of King Arkesilas IV of Kyrene in commissioning a Pindaric ode; on this topic, see also Morrison 2012, 120–122.

¹⁴⁰ Papakonstantinou 2014, 98. On victory monuments, see Raschke 1987; Herrmann 1988; Lattimore 1988; Rausa 1994; Peim 2000; Smith 2007; Nielsen 2011, 11–13.

¹⁴¹ Plin. nat. 34, 57–58; Paus. 6, 2, 2. 6, 8, 4. 6, 8, 5. 6, 13, 2.

¹⁴² Paus. 6, 2, 6. 6, 4, 11. 6, 9, 2. 6, 13, 6.

¹⁴³ See table 1 above: nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

¹⁴⁴ See table 1: nos. 13, 28.

¹⁴⁵ See table 1: no. 22.

¹⁴⁶ See table 1: no. 19. On Kallikles of Megara, see Paus. 6, 7, 2. 6, 7, 9 (cf. Jacquemin 2002, 141).

¹⁴⁷ See table 1: nos. 4, 21, 23. On Kleon of Sikyon, see FdD 1, 509; IvO 167; IvO 637; Paus. 5, 21, 3. 6, 1, 4. 6, 3, 9. 6, 8, 5. 6, 9, 2. 6, 10, 9. Cf. Lippold 1922, 720f.

discourse of the day on victory.¹⁴⁸ In this respect, obviously, Arkadia was not an uncivilized backwater.

To conclude, consideration of Arkadian involvement in athletics demonstrates that the region was by no means an uncivilized backwater: on the contrary, Arkadians participated fully and with great success in this most Greek of all cultural phenomena of the late-archaic to classical period.

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¹⁴⁸ Cf. Papakonstantinou 2014, 95–99.

V. Appendix

The periodic victors down to ca. 300 BC of Sicily, Boiotia and the Argolid

Sicily

1. Agesias of Syracuse
 - a. One Olympic victory (*apene*) in 472 or 468 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 248)
2. Astylos of Syracuse: was a native of Kroton, but seems to have relocated to Syracuse (recruited by Gelon or Hieron)
 - a. Possibly five Olympic victories (foot-races) as a Syracusan (Moretti 1957, nos. 186–87, 196–98)
3. Chromios of Aitna
 - a. One Nemean victory (*tethrippon*) after 476 BC (Kostourou 2008, no. 220)
4. Dikon of Syracuse: was a native of Kaulonia, but later competed for Syracuse
 - a. Three Olympic victories (foot-races) in 392–384 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 379, 388–89)
 - b. Five Pythian victories (foot-races) ca. 390–380 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 69)
 - c. Three Isthmian victories (foot-races) ca. 397–377 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.60)
 - d. Four Nemean victories (foot-races) in earlier fourth century (Kostourou 2008, no. 50)
5. Empedokles of Akragas:
 - a. One Olympic victory (*keles*) in 496 (Moretti 1957, no. 170)
6. Ergoteles of Himera (*dolichos*) (by origin of Cretan Knossos)
 - a. Two Olympic victories (464–450 BC) (Neue IvO 23)
 - b. Two Pythian victories (464–450 BC) (Neue IvO 23)
 - c. Two Isthmian victories (464–450 BC) (Neue IvO 23)
 - d. Two Nemean victories (464–450 BC) (Neue IvO 23)
7. Exainetos I of Akragas
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pale*) in 496 (Moretti 1957, no. 167)
8. Exainetos II of Akragas
 - a. Two Olympic victories (*stadion*) in 416 and 412 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 341 and 346)
9. Gelon of Gela
 - a. One Olympic victory (*tethrippon*) in 488 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 185)
10. Hieron of Syracuse
 - a. Three equestrian victories (*keles* and *tethrippon*) at Olympia in 476–468 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 221, 234, 246)
 - b. Three equestrian victories (*keles* and *tethrippon*) in 482–470 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 34)
11. Hyperbios of Syracuse
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 420 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 334)
12. Ischyros of Himera
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 516 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 137)
13. Krison of Himera
 - a. Three Olympic victories (*stadion*) in 448–440 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 294, 306, 312)

14. Leontiskos of Messana
 - a. Two Olympic victories (*pale*) in 456 and 452 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 271 and 285)
 - b. One Pythian victory (*pale*) in ca. 460–450 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 49)
15. Lygdamis of Syracuse
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pankration*) in 648 BC, the first contest in this event (Moretti 1957, no. 51)
16. Pantares of Gela
 - a. One Olympic victory (equestrian event) in 508 BC (?) (Moretti 1957, no. 151)
17. Parmenides of Kamarina
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 528 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 125)
18. Psaumis of Kamarina
 - a. Two Olympic victories (*apene, tethrippon*) in 456 and 452 (Moretti 1957, nos. 280 and 292)
19. Python of Himera
 - a. One Olympic victory (*keles*) in 452 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 293)
20. Symmachos of Messene
 - a. Two Olympic victories (*stadion*) in 428 and 424 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 325 and 328)
21. Teisandros of Naxos
 - a. Four Olympic victories (*pyx*) ca. 572–560 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 94, 98, 101, 105)
 - b. Four Pythian victories (*pyx*) in the sixth century (Strasser 2001, no. 2)
22. Theron of Akragas
 - a. One Olympic victory (*tethrippon*) in 476 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 220)
23. Xenokrates of Akragas
 - a. One Pythian victory (*tethrippon*) in 490 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 31)
 - b. One Isthmian victory (*tethrippon*) ca. 520–472 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.20)
24. [Zop]yros of Syracuse
 - a. One Olympic victory (*hoplitodromos*) in 476 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 218)

Boiotia

1. Asopichos of Orchomenos
 - a. One Olympic victory (boys' *stadion*) in ca. 488 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 182)
2. Agenor of Thebes
 - a. One Olympic victory (boys' *pale*) in ca. 360 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 427)
3. Aischylos of Thespiiai
 - a. One Olympic victory (boys' wrestling?) in ca. 348 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 444)
4. Daitondas & Arsilochos of Thebes
 - a. One Olympic victory (*tethrippon*) in 480 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 206)
5. Dionysodoros of Thebes
 - a. One Olympic victory (event unknown) in ca. 352 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 441)
6. Euankritos of Thebes
 - a. Two Isthmian victories (boys' and beardless' *pankration*) in ca. 315–280 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.76)
 - b. One Nemean victory (*pankration*) in ca. 320–284 BC (Kostourou 2008, no. 158)

7. Herodotos of Thebes
 - a. One Isthmian victory (*barma*) in ca. 472–450 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.49)
8. Ioladas of Thebes
 - a. One Pythian victory (boys' *pankration*) in 346 or 342 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 85)
9. Kleondas of Thebes
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 616 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 69)
10. Korweidas of Thebes
 - a. Two Pythian victories (boys' *pankration* and *pyx* (?)) in the second half of the fourth century (Strasser 2001, no. 87)
11. Lasthenes of Thebes
 - a. One Olympic victory (*dolichos*?) in 404 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 352)
12. Melissos of Thebes
 - a. One Isthmian victory (equestrian event?) in ca. 490–474 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.33)
 - b. One Nemean victory (equestrian event) (Kostourou 2008, no. 137)
13. Nikon of Anthedon
 - a. Two Olympic victories (*pankration*) in 300 and 296 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 504 and 517)
 - b. Two Pythian victories (*pankration*) in ca. 305–290 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 101)
 - c. Two Isthmian victories (*pankration*) in ca. 310–284 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.80)
 - d. Four Nemean victories (*pankration*) (Kostourou 2008, no. 150)
14. Orphondas of Thebes
 - a. One Pythian victory (quadriga for foals) in 382 or 378 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 71)
15. Pagondas of Thebes
 - a. One Olympic victory (*tethrippon*) in 680 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 33)
16. Polynikos of Thespiiai
 - a. One Olympic victory (boys' *pale* (?)) in 448 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 302)
17. Strepsiadas of Thebes
 - a. One Isthmian victory (*pankration*) in ca. 456–448 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.53)
18. Thrasidaïos of Thebes
 - a. Two Pythian victories (boys' *stadion* / men's *diaulos*) in ca. 474–454 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 44)
19. Tisimenes of Thespiiai
 - a. One Pythian victory (event unknown) in ca. 450–425 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 52)

Argolis

1. Ageus of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (*dolichos*) in 328 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 464)
2. Aischylos of Argos
 - a. One Nemean victory (*pale*) in ca. 350 BC (Kostourou 2008, no. 9)
3. Antias of Argos
 - a. Four Isthmian victories (equestrian events) pre-460s (Farrington 2012, no. 1.1)
 - b. Four Nemean victories (equestrian events) around 500 BC (Kostourou 2008, no. 16)
4. Antikrates of Epidauros
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 600 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 77)

5. Aristeus of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (*dolichos*) in ca. 420 (Moretti 1957, no. 335)
6. Aristion of Epidauros
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pyx*) in ca. 368 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 415)
7. Aristis of Kleonai
 - a. Four Nemean victories (*pankration*) in the mid-sixth century (Kostourou 2008, no. 22)
8. Automedes of Phleious
 - a. One Nemean victory (*pentathlon*) in the early fifth century (Kostourou 2008, no. 34)
9. Baukis of Troizen
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pale*) in ca. 400 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 358)
10. Cheimon of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pale*) in 448 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 298)
11. Dandis of Argos
 - a. Two Olympic victories (*stadion* and *diaulos*) in 476 and 472 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 210 and 222)
 - b. Three Pythian victories (sprints) in ca. 480–470 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 35)
 - c. Two Isthmian victories (sprints) in ca. 484–462 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.37)
 - d. 15 Nemean victories (sprints) (Kostourou 2008, no. 44)
12. Epitimadas of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pankration*) in 468 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 241)
13. Eurybates of Argos
 - a. At least one Nemean victory (*pentathlon*) in the earlier fifth century (Kostourou 2008, no. 68)
14. [---]ges of Epidauros
 - a. One Olympic victory (*diaulos*) in 472 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 223)
15. Keras of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pale*) in 300 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 502)
16. Kleainetos of Argos
 - a. At least one Pythian victory (foot-race) in ca. 350–325 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 84)
 - b. Six Isthmian victories (foot-races) in ca. 350–325 BC (CEG 2 814)
 - c. At least one Nemean victory (foot-race) in ca. 350–325 BC (Kostourou 2008, no. 88)
17. Kleon of Epidauros
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 608 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 74)
18. [---]kon of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (boys' *pale*) in 480 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 204)
19. Ladas of Argos
 - a. One Olympic victory (*dolichos*) in ca. 460 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 260)
20. [---]nes of Tiryns
 - a. One Olympic victory (boys' *pyx*) in 468 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 244)
21. Oxythemis of Kleonai
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 732 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 12)
22. Perilaos of Argos
 - a. One Nemean victory (*pale*) in the mid-sixth century (Kostourou 2008, no. 159)

23. Polos of Epidauros
 - a. One Olympic victory (*stadion*) in 712 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 19)
24. *Polis* of Argos
 - a. Two Olympic victories (equestrian events) in 480 and 472 BC (Moretti 1957, nos. 207 and 233)
25. Prateas of Argos
 - a. One Pythian victory (*pale*) in ca. 375–325 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 72)
 - b. Two Isthmian victories (*pale*) in ca. 375–345 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.65)
 - c. Three Nemean victories (*pale*) (Kostourou 2008, no. 174)
26. Theaios of Argos
 - a. One Pythian victory (*pale*) in ca. 475–450 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 39)
 - b. Three Isthmian victories (*pale*) in ca. 484–462 BC (Farrington 2012, no. 1.38)
 - c. Three Nemean victories (*pale*) (Kostourou 2008, no. 78)
27. Thrasyklos of Argos
 - a. Four Isthmian victories (equestrian events) pre-460s (Farrington 2012, no. 1.2)
 - b. Four Nemean victories (equestrian events) around 500 BC (Kostourou 2008, no. 78)
28. Timainetos of Phleious
 - a. One Pythian victory (*hoplitodromos*) in 498/494 BC (Strasser 2001, no. 29)
29. Timanthes of Kleonai
 - a. One Olympic victory (*pankration*) in 456 BC (Moretti 1957, no. 273)
30. Timokles of the Argolid
 - a. One Nemean victory (event unknown) ca. later sixth/earlier fifth century (Kostourou 2008, no. 228)

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